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THE FILIPINO PEOPLE ASK JUSTICE

SPEECH

OF

HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON

OF THE PHILIPPINES

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 13, 1913



WASHINGTON

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SPEECH
OF
HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 28607) making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, after listening to two of the most brilliant gentlemen in this House for nearly two hours speaking with absolute self-assurance of the country where I was born and have lived all my life, I feel that I have lost my country because I can not find it. I do not recognize from their description the Archipelago of the Philippines, nor can I identify in what they have said the Filipino people—my own people. Far be it from me to harbor the slightest thought of charging these wise and distinguished gentlemen with deliberate purpose to misinform the House. I know them both well and have for neither anything but the highest regard and respect. They have merely conveyed to the House in the very best of faith their own misinformation.

Some time ago I heard the story of a friar who lived for 70 years and then died in the Philippine Islands.

As a preacher he went from town to town mingling with the people of all classes, living with them in their own houses and eating their food. He spoke their language. With all these opportunities he devoted himself to the study of the characteristics of the Filipino people for the purpose of writing a book on this subject. When he died a large volume was found in his bedroom inscribed with these words, "My Knowledge of the Filipino People." Those who first saw the book were greatly pleased. Knowing the qualifications of the author, they anticipated that the work would be a valuable contribution to knowledge. There would appear, they thought, with its lights and shadows, the life of a new country. Eagerly they opened the volume. But what a disappointment! Not a line was written there. And yet in those blank pages spoke plainly as well as eloquently the wisdom of a student. That is one story. Here is another in contrast to it. There are gentlemen who devote 5, 10, or even 30 minutes of their time to reading a small part of a report. At most they will make a flying trip through the islands for 10, 15, or 30 days, admire the beautiful scenery of my country, "take a look" at my people, without mingling with them, without listening to the words that their hearts and their minds would speak, and then proceed to say, "I know all about the Philippines." [Applause and laughter.]

And they want you, Mr. Chairman, to take them as authorities on things Philippine. It is often true that after we have read something in print about a country or have seen a part of it, we feel satisfied that we may with authority speak of

that country. When we do so speak, when in speaking we use our own language, our mastery of a tongue which we have used from our childhood gives the advantage of presenting our ideas so brilliantly that we impress our audience with the belief that we really know of what we are talking. [Laughter and applause.]

Ah, Mr. Chairman, you may read the history of a country and learn it by heart. You may know its statistics; the extent of the population; what proportion of its people can read and write, and how many can speak this, that, or the other language; how much they sell and produce; but to know the people, their characteristics, capabilities, and shortcomings, is not necessarily to know their numbers, their literacy, or their internal or foreign trade. To know a people you must not only live with them for a number of years, but share their feelings, possess a sympathy for their aspirations, and, most important of all, be broad minded enough to abandon race prejudice and fixed views on the superiority of one civilization over another. You must be so elastic as to take the place of those whom you are studying, and from their points of view consider their life and deeds. This is emphatically true in the case of any occidental country when studied by an occidental. But it is very much more true in the case of an oriental people because of the infinitely greater difficulty an occidental finds in knowing them. There is not as yet any American who has the qualifications I have mentioned to express an opinion about the Philippines. The high authorities on things Philippine cited by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. OLMSTED] are, as we shall demonstrate presently, altogether lacking in those qualifications.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUEZON. Certainly.

Mr. TOWNSEND. How many years did the gentleman from New York [Mr. REDFIELD] live in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. QUEZON. I understand he went there on a short trip—perhaps a month.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Only one month?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Oh, I thought he had lived there for some years.

Mr. QUEZON. Oh, never.

Mr. MURRAY. Will the gentleman tell us how long the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. JONES] was there?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, what I say about the Philippines and the Filipinos is not based upon the authority of the gentleman from Virginia; it is based upon my own authority. I want to tell the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MURRAY] that I was born in the Philippine Islands, that I have lived there all of my life, that I have studied my country, and that I have studied my people. I have devoted my life to their service, and I shall do so as long as God gives me breath. [Applause.]

Having said so much by way of introduction, I shall now proceed to answer specifically the statements of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. OLMSTED] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. REDFIELD]. But let us remember, lest it may be forgotten, that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has admitted, in answer to a question I put to him in the course of his remarks, that he has never been in the Philippines, and

he will admit, I think, that he has not devoted a great deal of his time to the study of Philippine questions. As for the gentleman from New York, his personal knowledge can not be more than "impressions" obtained from a short and flying trip which he has made to the islands.

Curiously enough, the statements made and arguments presented by both of these gentlemen are in cases similar and in others absolutely identical. With only two exceptions, to which I shall presently refer, the speech of the gentleman from New York is either textually or in thought contained in the speech of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. This last being the more extensive and elaborate of the two, I shall address myself mainly to it.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE BILL.

The first part of the speech of the gentleman from Pennsylvania was devoted to a brief discussion of the bill now pending before the House, H. R. 22143, entitled "A bill to establish a qualified independent government for the Philippines and to fix the date when such qualified independence shall become absolute and complete, and for other purposes."

He calls this bill "remarkable and dangerous." I shall not occupy the time of the House at present in discussing the merits of this bill. I hope it will soon be brought up for discussion, and with all the power at my command I shall then support it. Just now I wish merely to say that the people of the Philippines have approved it. The Philippine Assembly, on December 10, 1912, passed a resolution unanimously indorsing it, which in part is as follows:

Resolved by the Philippine Assembly, That it is the opinion of the assembly that the Jones bill contains those provisions which confirm and ratify conclusively the demands of the people, based on their present capacity to govern themselves, and that it is its sense that said bill completely closes the indefinite, absurd, and notoriously unpopular period of apprenticeship, against which the people have been protesting to this day, the Filipino Government created by said bill being given only the time necessary for studying, continuing, and completing the fundamental organization of the Filipino republic;

Resolved further, That the Congress and the President of the United States be, and they hereby are, petitioned through the Philippine Resident Commissioners in Washington to approve the Jones bill at this regular session of the Congress of the United States;

Resolved further, That in case the Jones bill can not be approved during said session the new President of the United States be, and he hereby is, petitioned that if a special session of Congress is called he recommend to it in his message the consideration of the aforesaid bill; and

Resolved, finally, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Resident Commissioners, the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the President of the United States.

I have also in my possession copies of the resolutions passed by every municipality in the archipelago indorsing this bill.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE BILL.

I do not doubt that certain provisions of the bill may be improved. In fact, in the opinion of the Filipino people, it could, and would be improved by shortening the time within which absolute independence shall be granted. But the essential thing which makes the bill popular among the Filipinos is that it is a signal change from an indefinite, ambiguous, and obnoxious policy to an open, frank, and honest pledge of Philippine independence within a reasonable time and under wise safeguards.

DR. SCHURMAN ON THE INDEPENDENCE BILL.

As it may interest the gentleman from Pennsylvania to read the opinion of President Schurman, of Cornell University, on this bill, I shall print it in connection with my remarks. President Schurman, a Republican like the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. OLMSTED], has had the advantage—that the latter has not had—of knowing the Filipino people by personal contact, for he was in the Philippines a much longer time than the gentleman from New York [Mr. REDFIELD], and was charged, as chairman of the first Philippine Commission appointed by President McKinley, with the duty of investigating the conditions in the Philippines. Here is President Schurman's opinion:

I think no honest mind can carefully and impartially study this bill without recognizing it as a great piece of constructive statesmanship. It conserves the best interests both of the people of the United States and the people of the Philippine Islands, while at the same time it expresses loyalty to their highest political ideals and aspirations. And it minimizes the risk which is inseparable from every great legislative measure by establishing a period of probation and experiment before the final policy is irrevocably realized.

PERIOD OF ILLUSION IS OVER.

The period of illusion with regard to American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands has passed away. That sovereignty is no longer regarded by the American people as an advantage; they now know that in annexing the Philippines they assumed a heavy burden and a grave responsibility. This is not to say that the course followed by our Government in 1898 and 1899 was not the right course. I for one believe that no other policy could at that time have been properly and safely adopted. But the question before us to-day concerns not only our doings in the past, but our proposals for the present and the future. What shall we do with the Philippine Islands over which, as a matter of fact, American sovereignty now extends? They are not of financial advantage to the United States, but a disadvantage and a burden. And the continued enforcement of our sovereignty upon 7,000,000 civilized and Christian Filipinos is a defiance of their aspirations and a violation of our own political ideals and traditions.

The American people have never declared that they proposed to retain permanent control of the Philippine Islands. On the contrary, I believe it is the desire and the intention of the American people to relinquish sovereignty over the Philippine Archipelago just as soon as the Filipinos express their desire for independence and show their capacity for exercising it. The people of the Philippine Islands have already unanimously and repeatedly expressed their desire for independence. Their participation in the government of the islands since their cession to the United States strikingly evinces their capacity for self-government. But in order that further demonstration may be afforded, the bill under consideration proposes to give them the exclusive management of their own affairs, subject to veto of their legislation either by the President or the Congress of the United States, for a period of eight years during which, while the president of the Philippine Republic shall be appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate, all other officials of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—shall be elected or appointed by the Filipinos themselves or their duly constituted authorities. And during this probationary period all treaties and commercial conventions which the Philippine Government proposes to make with foreign powers shall be submitted to the President of the United States and by him to the Senate for their approval.

JONES BILL COVERS ALL POINTS.

Wise and statesmanlike legislation takes account not only of principles, but also of circumstances and actual conditions. The present bill admirably satisfies this test. If there are any advantages accruing to the United States from the exercise of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, this bill provides that those advantages shall be retained by the United States after the islands have become independent. Americans are to have freedom of travel and access in the Philippines for business, pleasure, or missionary purposes. And they are to be protected and to enjoy the same advantages as shall be furnished the Filipinos themselves. No higher tax shall be levied upon their property, merchandise, or business than that payable by the Filipinos themselves under like

circumstances. No citizens of other countries are ever to enjoy greater trade or other advantages in the Philippine Islands than those accorded to the citizens of the United States. Of course, the Government of the Philippines is to assume and carry into effect the treaty obligations contracted by the United States with the Kingdom of Spain in relation to the Philippine Islands. Important as these safeguards are, they do not complete the story. The most important provision is still to be mentioned. The bill provides that the United States are to have and retain control, ownership, and complete sovereignty over such lands and harborage waters as the American Government may deem necessary for coaling and naval stations and for terminal facilities for cables.

It is thus seen that under the terms of this bill all results that may be desired by the people of the United States are accomplished. In the first place, the people of the United States relieve themselves of the expense of maintaining a large army in the Philippine Islands and escape the grave danger of being involved in war on their account. In the second place, they show fidelity and loyalty to their own political ideals and institutions by recognizing the right of the Filipinos to govern themselves. In the third place, while relieving themselves of the burden of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, the American people retain all the advantages of commerce and intercourse which ordinarily go with sovereignty. And in the fourth place, the strategical advantage which sovereignty over the Philippines is supposed to have conferred upon the United States is not lost or even impaired with the independence of the islands, for this bill grants in perpetuity to the United States the right to retain control, ownership, and complete sovereignty over such lands and harborage waters as are actually necessary for coaling and naval stations and convenient terminal points for cables.

There is another respect in which this bill shows not only loyalty to principle but regard for sentiment and even prejudices. I believe the overwhelming majority of the American people desire to see the Philippine people sovereign masters of their own destiny; they will not, however, on any condition, admit the Philippines as a State to the American Union; they would like, on the other hand, to see the Filipinos a self-governing, independent, and sovereign nation. If, however, they are asked to grant the Filipinos their independence, these same American people draw back and hesitate on the ground that the Filipinos may not be able to govern themselves.

CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS.

Unfortunately, interested parties, hostile to the best interests and aspirations of the Filipinos, have misrepresented to the American people their character, capacity, and conditions. Many, even well-informed Americans, have therefore come to believe that the Philippine population is made up largely of savages and barbarians who are steeped in ignorance and who would be at one another's throats if the restraints of American power were removed. But the census taken by the Americans themselves shows that of the 7,635,000 Filipinos in the archipelago in 1903, 6,987,000 were civilized and only 647,000 wild or uncivilized.

These civilized Filipinos are the only Christian nation in the Orient. I have often said that in culture, education, capacity, and governing ability the Filipinos may be compared with the people of Latin America. If they were granted their independence, they would not at once become a great nation, like the Argentine Republic or Brazil, but they would, in my opinion, take fair rank with the smaller countries of Central and South America. They have had the same sort of tutelage and training as the South American people. That is, they derive their civilization and religion and ideas of law and government from Spain. But in the case of the Filipinos there is the additional favoring circumstance that for 13 years they have now been under the beneficent tutelage of the United States, and during this period they have had much experience in local self-government, and the blessings of education have been widely diffused all over the archipelago. The report of the secretary of education for the year ending June 30, 1911, shows that the public-school enrollment for that year was 610,493, while the number of public schools in operation was 4,404 and the number of teachers 9,086, of whom 8,403, or over 92 per cent, were Filipinos.

PROBATIONARY PERIOD MEETS ALL OBJECTIONS.

The bill, however, recognizes that there is no complete answer to the doubt felt by so many people in the United States regarding the capacity of the Filipinos to govern themselves short of the answer of actual demonstration. It is proposed, therefore, that there shall be a probationary period of self-government and sovereignty during a period of eight years, qualified by a veto right in the President and Congress of the United States. This will give the Filipinos ample opportunity to

demonstrate their capacity to manage their own affairs. It will also be for them a school of constantly enlarging self-government, finally expanding itself to independent and sovereign self-government. And when on the 4th day of July, 1921, the full and complete independence of the Philippines shall be acknowledged, the United States will thereafter have no responsibilities for the affairs of the Philippine people, and will have no obligation to defend them either against foreign invasion or internal disorder. The large army that we now maintain in the Philippines can be called home. The danger of Asiatic complications will be greatly reduced.

But can the Philippine Republic stand alone? The Filipinos, who are the best judges of the matter, think it can. If they are mistaken, the penalty falls on them and not on us. And it must be acknowledged that recent events in Asia make for the immunity of the Filipinos. A republic has been established in China, devoted to peace and modern civilization; if it fights at all, it will be in defense, not for purposes of aggression. Furthermore, Japan's victories both over China and Russia have shifted its center of gravity from the islands confronting the coast of Asia to the mainland. Its development for the future is not through the islands southward by way of Formosa, but on the mainland westward through Korea and Manchuria. And while Asiatic nations are thus drawn away from the Philippine Islands, there seems to be no European nation which would have special interest in annexation.

NEUTRALIZATION DESIRABLE.

The bill, however, proposes to give the Filipinos the best possible opportunity for maintaining their independence and national sovereignty, and an effective means of protection is at hand. How are the integrity and independence of Switzerland and Belgium maintained? As everyone knows, they are maintained by international neutralization. The bill accordingly provides that the President of the United States shall open negotiations with foreign Governments, including those of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, and Spain, with a view to securing the neutrality of the Philippine Islands and the recognition of their independence through international agreement.

I repeat, finally, that this bill offers the wisest, justest, and most statesmanlike solution of the Philippine problem which has yet been presented. It conserves all the material interests of the people of the United States and the islands. It embodies the political ideals of the American people and responds to the ardent aspirations of the people of the Philippines. Had such a measure been enacted into law earlier the United States would have had the honor and eternal glory of establishing the first republic in the Continent of Asia. Now that the Chinese people have anticipated our action, we ought not to delay in responding to their challenge to set up beside the big Republic of China the neighboring Republic of the Philippines. But whatever any other nation may do or not do, justice, honor, and true Americanism combine with national self-interest and expediency in prescribing that we should, without delay, permit the Filipinos to govern themselves and to set up within the next few years an independent and sovereign Philippine Republic.

JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN.

PHILIPPINE EXPLOITATION.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, under the heading "The Philippines not a bad bargain," spoke of the islands as "very rich possessions," and said that "if Germany or Japan or any other foreign nation possessed them they would never let them go." Then he proceeded to enumerate the number of acres of rich soil in the Philippines, to estimate how much population they could support, and to sketch their imports and exports. He ends his tale with this suggestive remark:

Think of the vast possibilities if these people (the Filipinos) were taught modern methods and the use of modern implements so as to make the most of their land, and think of the vast trade and of the vast market for our products when those islands shall become more densely populated, as they are destined to be when intelligent methods of agriculture shall prevail over their now untouched millions of acres.

I am glad to find the gentleman from Pennsylvania treading in this path. For once I am face to face with the argument that independence should never be granted to the Philippines for reasons very much at variance with altruistic purposes. It

is true that after saying all this the gentleman hastens to disclaim any purpose of "making an argument in favor of the permanent retention of the Philippines," and I believe he is honest; but the gentleman can not escape from the logical conclusion of his discourse, namely, that the Philippines should forever be retained under the control of the United States on the ground that it *will pay*. For the gentleman from Pennsylvania, in showing that the Philippines are not a bad bargain, put his stress not so much upon what they produce now as upon what they may produce later on. "Think of the vast possibilities," he says, "if these people," and so forth. I ask the gentleman, If the Philippines ought to be kept under American control now because of what they may purchase from and sell to the United States when they shall become more densely populated and developed, will he let them go then when they have actually attained the state that he is predicting?

The gentleman from New York [Mr. REDFIELD], in an article entitled "A suggested Democratic policy," which he wrote for the National Monthly Magazine, has also spoken of these untold possibilities for investment in the Philippine Islands. I do not believe that either of these gentlemen look upon the Philippine problem from the standpoint of dollars and cents. And if it were only a question of arguing with them, I should leave this phase of the question wholly untouched, for I do not understand how in a matter like this, where the rights of 8,000,000 human beings are at stake, the imports and exports of a country could have any bearing or exert any influence upon the decision one way or the other.

There are, however, some people in this country whose hostility to Philippine independence is dictated by the profits they are making or expect to make out of the present relationship between the Philippines and the United States. Who would care to deny that the Philippines have been so far a good bargain for those who have purchased Philippine Government bonds at the guaranteed rate of 4 per cent interest; those who own our railroads and to whom the Philippine Government guarantees 4 per cent profit on every dollar they invest; those who are benefited by the rebate on our hemp exported to the United States; and those who, in spite of the positive injunction of an act of Congress, have been able to acquire, hold, and exploit vast tracts of our sugar lands? Of course, these interests will leave no stone unturned to oppose Philippine independence, but they do not disclose the real motive that underlies their conduct. Theirs is not the voice of conquest, of greed, of territorial aggrandizement. When they appeal to the American people for the retention of the Philippines they always do so in the name of justice and of sympathy for the poor, ignorant Filipinos who are badly in need of American rule. Will the American people listen to this hypocritical cry? Shall the American people longer continue to bear a burden that entails the expense of an increasing Army, the building of fortifications, the enlarging of the Navy, merely to allow men who, not content with exploiting their own brothers at home, wish to control the lands and opportunities of another country which have been given by the will of God to the inhabitants thereof for their own use? This is but another phase of the great battle which is being waged by the American people against predatory

wealth. It is the old conflict between the rights of man and the insatiable greed of gain.

THE PHILIPPINES A WHITE ELEPHANT.

Mr. Chairman, I have no quarrel with any man who chooses to oppose Philippine independence because he thinks that it is to his own interest, or to the interest of his own country, to keep the islands in subjection. It is but human that when our own interests are at stake that we should look after them. It is our duty—the duty of every man—to care for the interests of his own country. But, I assert, Mr. Chairman, that the possession of the Philippines by the United States is in no respect to the interest of the American people; and that when once the present generation of Filipinos is convinced that it may not look forward to its freedom within its lifetime, such control will not be profitable even to the private interests I have indicated.

PROFITLESS EXPENSE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

The American people must lose by it, because the retention of the islands means more Army, more fortifications, and more Navy, all of which involves increase in national expenditures. How much, may I ask, has the average American gained from the possession of the Philippines? Nothing. Outside of those who are employed in the Philippine service or have capital invested in the Philippines no other American gets any benefit. And how much, after all, do these few privileged Americans gain? Not even a score of millions a year. Yet the Philippines cost the people of the United States 10 years ago, according to the late Senator Hoar, as well informed a man as any who ever sat in the Congress of the United States and who was as good a Republican as the best, not less than \$600,000,000. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Jones] said a few days ago in this House, and proved it, that they are now costing the United States \$40,000,000 yearly. These figures have not been controverted by our adversaries, save only one insignificant item.

FORTHCOMING LOSS TO THE "INTERESTS."

As for the capitalists who have money invested in the islands let them consider what they are doing before they commit this country to a policy of permanent or indefinite retention. They must never forget that trade can not be imposed upon a people by force; that commercial or industrial enterprise is essentially voluntary, and that to succeed financially in the islands they must reckon with one important factor—the good will of the Filipino people.

The Filipinos are now harmoniously working hand in hand not only with the American Government in the Philippines, but with American enterprises in the islands, because they still believe that they will receive justice at the hands of the United States and that it is only a matter of a short time before their independence will be granted. If, to their misfortune, the day should ever come when, owing to the efforts of the few American "interests" in the islands, they shall be deprived of their sacred right to freedom, I doubt very much if these "interests" will be able to secure the cooperation of the people in their business. I should fear that under those conditions the gains which they have promised to themselves will be converted into real losses.

"AUTHORITIES" ON THE PHILIPPINES.

I come now to that portion of the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania that is apparently most carefully prepared

and most elaborate. I refer to his statement on the ignorance and lack of homogeneity of the Filipino people and their unfitness for self-government. Of course everything that the gentleman says on this phase of the subject is taken from other authorities, such as President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt, ex-Secretary of War Dickinson, and the Philippine census. His statements do not rest upon his own knowledge. The gentleman from Pennsylvania says that Mr. Taft is "better qualified than any other American to testify concerning" the Filipinos because "his familiarity with the Spanish language enabled him to acquire an unusual amount of information as to their—the Filipinos'—intelligence, their habits of thought, and their desires." No wonder that Mr. Taft has not acquired the information that the gentleman from Pennsylvania attributes to him, for he does not and has never possessed the knowledge of Spanish by which the gentleman from Pennsylvania asserts that he has acquired that information. President Taft has never known the Spanish language, and, in so far as I am aware, he never asserted that he knew it.

Mr. OLMSTED. But I have heard him talk with Spaniards. Mr. QUEZON. I suppose he has said "buenos dias." He does not speak Spanish, and he never had any direct communication with the Filipinos except with those very few who at that time could speak English.

CURRY AND BLOUNT VERSUS TAFT.

But it is true that Mr. Taft had been for two years governor general in the Philippines. He visited nearly every Province and has met personally many Filipinos. He has undoubtedly more knowledge about the Philippines than the great majority of the American people, but I question the statement that he is "better qualified than any other American" to testify concerning the Filipinos. There are many Americans who have had more intimate contact with the people of the Philippines, who have lived for a longer period of years in the islands, and who speak Spanish and native dialects. Some, at least, of these Americans are utterly at variance with Mr. Taft in his opinion as to the unfitness of the Filipino people for self-government, their ignorance, and lack of homogeneity. I can cite the case of Gov. CURRY, now a Member of this House from New Mexico, who has been in the Philippines for eight years, has traveled throughout the islands, was an officer of Volunteers, governor of one Province in the northern part of Luzon and of another in the south in the group of the Visayan Islands, and chief of police of Manila. Gov. CURRY says that the people of the Philippines are homogeneous; that they constitute a nation and are capable enough to establish and maintain a government, republican in form, that will certainly suit their own needs better than any American government that can be imposed upon them. There likewise is the testimony of Judge Blount, whose book, *The American Occupation of the Philippines*, has already attracted wide attention, and of many others.

FILIPINOS AGAINST TAFT.

Even admitting that Mr. Taft is better qualified than any other American to testify concerning the Filipinos, would anyone assert that he is better qualified than the Filipinos to testify about themselves? And the Filipinos are united in their assertion that they constitute a homogeneous people, capable of

governing themselves, with one common, paramount ambition—to see their country free. It must be remembered that President Taft has been found, by the verdict of every State of the Union save Utah and Vermont, wrong in his domestic policies. Yet Mr. Taft ought to be better qualified to say what is best for the American people. May he not be equally wrong in his Philippine policy?

EX-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON THE PHILIPPINES.

As for ex-President Roosevelt, his knowledge about the Philippines is as little dependable as that of President Taft. Ex-President Roosevelt became an authority on the Philippines, I suppose, because of the fact that since the islands came under American control he was for a time President of the United States and thus had the responsibility of administering their affairs. Mr. Roosevelt was never in the Philippines. While he was President Mr. Taft became the first Governor General of the islands and later Secretary of War. Of course, not knowing the Philippines from personal observation Mr. Roosevelt had to depend altogether upon what Mr. Taft, his own subordinate, told him.

EX-SECRETARY DICKINSON.

As to ex-Secretary of War Dickinson, he was appointed Secretary of War by President Taft at the beginning of the latter's administration. Prior to that time he never was in the Philippines and has made no special study of those people. Upon taking office he at once became responsible for the administration of the affairs of 8,000,000 people without knowing much about them, and as administrator of those people was called upon to carry out the policy that was laid down, not by himself, but by Mr. Taft. The views, ideas, and policies of this administration with regard to the Philippines were, of course, known to ex-Secretary of War Dickinson, as they were known to all of us. The administration believed that the Filipino people were not ready for self-government, and it was natural that ex-Secretary of War Dickinson, not having himself made any personal and deep study of the islands, should take the views of the administration. After having been at the head of the War Department for two years, living in an atmosphere of disbelief in the ability of the Filipinos for self-government, the Secretary of War went to the islands. He visited, it is true, several provinces of the archipelago and met many people in private conferences and at banquets, dances, and public receptions that were tendered to him. He did not speak Spanish or any native dialect. His visit was so short that he could not have formed any real opinion of his own concerning the Philippine situation strong enough to replace that which he had formed in the imperialistic atmosphere of the War Department before he went to the Philippines.

From these observations it will be seen that the opinion of the "authorities" cited by the gentleman from Pennsylvania is not to be taken as conclusive or final, much less when it is realized that other Americans equally, if not better, qualified entertain an opposite theory, and that the Filipinos are altogether on this side of the question and by all laws of nature ought to know themselves better and have more regard for their own welfare than do the American imperialists.

THE PHILIPPINE CENSUS.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania in his efforts to establish the ignorance and lack of homogeneity of the people of the Philippines, which exists only in the imagination of those who do not know those people, quoted extracts from the Philippine census that, in the opinion of the gentleman, prove conclusively his contention. The same thing was done by the gentleman from New York. It is well to remember that the census of the Philippines was taken under the guidance of the Philippine Commission, at that time headed by Mr. Taft, and that the opinions of Mr. Taft and his colleagues as to the capacity for self-government of the Filipino are reflected in that work. The director of the census himself—Maj. Gen. Sanger, United States Army, retired—was appointed at the request of Gov. Taft, and was placed at the head of this important work without any previous connection or knowledge of the Filipino people. It is unnecessary to say that Gen. Sanger believed with Mr. Taft and with the majority of his Army comrades that the Filipinos were better fitted to be governed than to govern themselves. But even at that, if the tables of the census are carefully studied, there will be found ample material to support the opposite theory, and much more so if to this we should add the consideration that this census was taken 10 years ago, and that since that time great progress has been made by the Filipinos along educational, commercial, and industrial lines, a fact to which present Government officials take pride in testifying.

An analysis of the quotations made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania from the census, as well as of his comments thereon, shows that his quotations and comments are not altogether reliable. For instance, he quotes that passage in the census which says:

The selection of a sufficient number of intelligent Filipinos able to read, write, and speak the Spanish language, as well as the various dialects of the people, to serve as enumerators and special agents was by no means a trivial undertaking, for although it was estimated that of the 7,000,000 of civilized population 700,000 approximately could read and write Spanish, according to the Archbishop of Manila, not more than 7,000 belong to the educated class.

THREE PER CENT OF FILIPINOS HAVE SUPERIOR EDUCATION.

On page 80, volume 2 of the same census, we read:

Out of the total number of males of voting age the number having superior education was 50,140, or 3 per cent.

This is certainly in open contradiction to the statement that only 7,000 Filipinos belonged to the educated class, unless, in the opinion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, those having superior education do not constitute an educated class.

ALMOST 50 PER CENT OF LITERACY.

Again, on pages 78 and 79 of the same volume of the census we find this statement:

The total number of males 10 years of age and over was 2,473,777.
* * * There were 1,161,925 males who were able to read. * * *
The number of males who could both read and write was 735,564.

These figures convey an idea entirely different from that which the paragraph quoted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania would seem to convey.

THE FILIPINOS A HOMOGENEOUS PEOPLE.

The gentleman seems greatly elated at finding certain reports from provincial governors testifying to the lack of homogeneity

and knowledge of the Filipinos. These same reports are quoted by the gentleman from New York [Mr. REDFIELD]. The gentleman from Pennsylvania affirmed that the reports in question "are interesting and important in this connection" because they are made by "native Filipinos." It is to be regretted that the gentleman did not take greater pains to verify these assertions before he made them, for he would have found that the governors whose reports he quoted are not Filipinos at all. The governor of Bataan, whose report he quotes, was Capt. John H. Goldman, and the governor of Ambos Camarines, whose report is also quoted, was Capt. James Ross. The census on page 599 of volume 1 gives the names of these governors.

In contrast as well as in answer to the reports of these American governors, I beg to quote now from reports of governors who are in truth "native Filipinos."

Gov. J. Ortega, of La Union, Ilocano Province, says of the people under his jurisdiction:

The Ilocanos are of medium height, brown color, fair constitution, and they enjoy good health as a rule; have healthy customs, are moral and honest, chastity and love of home predominating among them, and notwithstanding the fact that they are submissive, obedient, and of a timid character, they would commit crime when offended in their honor, and when they do not find any more satisfactory vindication for conjugal infidelity, then the death of the offender and the faithless one at the hand of the offended.

Gov. Gracio Gonzaga, of Cagayan, Cagayan Province, says:

The customs of the inhabitants of this Province are temperate, they are obedient to the authorities, and their character is pacific, hospitable, and moderate and frugal in food and drink.

Gov. Simeon Luz, of Batangas, Tagalog Province, speaks thus of his people:

The manners and customs of the natives of this Province differ very little, if at all, from those of the other inhabitants of the archipelago, this being the case more especially with regard to the Tagalog Province of Luzon. As a rule, the Filipino of Batangas is very hospitable, moderate, sober, religious, and very much attached to the soil of his birth, characteristics which distinguish the race in general.

Likewise Gov. Martin Delgado, of Iloilo, Visayan Province, says:

The customs and manner of living of the inhabitants of this Province are, generally speaking, identical with or very similar to those in the other Provinces of the archipelago; they are moderate, temperate, simple, and hospitable in every respect. They are very much attached to their homes and families, which they do not leave except when forced to do so by reason of being obliged to seek their support in other sections.

And Gov. Juan Climaco, of Cebu, Visayan Province, says:

There are scarcely any peculiarities which distinguish in a marked degree the Cebuanos from the other inhabitants of the islands. The culture, religion, disposition, manners, and customs of all are similar. There is to be noted, however, a greater industrial activity among them than among those of the neighboring Provinces, especially in all that relates to agriculture, due, perhaps, to the necessity of stimulating production. The soil of Cebu is not naturally extremely fertile, and manual labor is necessary in order to make it supply man's necessities.

These reports are the best answer to the sometimes ignorant, sometimes malicious, statement that the Filipinos do not constitute a homogeneous people, but are instead a "conglomeration of different tribes, with different characteristics." Those different "tribes," it is said, are the Ilocanos and Cagayanes, inhabiting the northern part of the island of Luzon; the Tagalogs, who inhabit the center and south of that island; and the Visayans, who inhabit the southern group of the archipelago.

The reports I have quoted come from an Ilocano, Cagayan, Tagalog, and Visayan governor. The Provinces over which they have authority are situated—La Union and Cagayan in the most northern part of Luzon, Batangas in the border of the center and south of Luzon, Iloilo and Cebu in the southern islands of Panay and Cebu. All these governors attribute to the people of their respective Provinces the same characteristics, namely, hospitality, sobriety, piety, morality, and love for order, home, and family. They are unanimous in stating that the culture, manners, customs, and habits of thought of the people of their respective Provinces are identical with those of the rest of the archipelago.

The different denominations given to the inhabitants of certain regions of the islands—Ilocanos, Cagayanes, and so forth—are, to those not intimately acquainted with the Filipinos, most misleading. The impression naturally conveyed by these different names is that the people thus differently named are heterogeneous. The Filipinos do not among themselves apply the names Tagal, Ilocano, or Visayan, but use the word "Filipino." In their gatherings nobody knows, or cares to know, from what region of the archipelago this or that man may come. There is no more difference, except that of local dialect, between the Ilocano of the northernmost and the Visayan of the southernmost Provinces than there is between a Californian and Oregonian. In fact, there does not exist, nor has there ever existed, an antagonism between the inhabitants of different Provinces, since, fortunately, there has never been a bloody contest like the War of Secession, nor any sectional warfare amongst us.

No intelligent man who knows the contemporaneous history of the Philippine Islands and has had an intimate contact with the people of the Philippines can honestly say that the Filipinos do not constitute a homogeneous people, conscious of their own nationality. Racially the Filipinos are more homogeneous than the people of the United States, because while the American people to-day include elements coming from different parts and races of Europe, the Filipinos all belong to the same stock—the Malay race. In religion they are also more homogeneous than the people of the United States, for practically all the civilized people of the Philippines, numbering more than seven and a half millions out of the total population of eight millions, are Roman Catholics. Belonging to the same race, molded by the same church and the same civilization for the past 300 years, the Filipinos would naturally have, as they have in fact, the same characteristics, customs, habits, and ideas.

THE FILIPINOS CONSTITUTE A NATION.

That they constitute a nation, that they have common national aspirations and feelings, is a fact proven beyond any question. The pages of the contemporary history of the Philippines are illuminated with the most eloquent proofs of the unity of the Filipino people. In the struggle for freedom the sons of the northern as well as those of the southern islands have given their lives.

There is not a region in the whole Philippine Archipelago which has not been sprinkled with the blood of the inhabitants of that territory in the common struggle of the country for liberty. At the call of the Philippine independence cause, every

Province in the archipelago, those Provinces said to be inhabited by people of different tribes, responded, and headed by one man, whose local origin no one cared to inquire, they revolted against Spain and conquered every garrison and imprisoned every Spanish soldier outside the city of Manila. In defense of that same independence which they had so bravely wrung from their former masters and under the direction of a government which they themselves had established they opposed American domination in the islands, in spite of the fact that they knew but too well that their opposition would be crushed and that their reward for love of country would be death. The following extract from a declaration made by Admiral Dewey before the Senate Committee on the Philippines indicates how united were the Filipinos in their revolution against Spain. When the admiral was asked how large was the Philippine army which revolted against Spain he said it numbered about 25,000, and added:

They could have had any number of men; it was just a question of arming them. They could have had the whole population.

Gen. MacArthur, the man who successfully defeated the Philippine Army, in a report in 1900 to the War Department, explaining how with few and a poor quality of arms the Filipinos were capable of offering a long resistance to the United States Army, which at that time in the Philippines amounted to 120,000 men, said in so many words that from the inception of hostilities it was decided by a council of war that owing to the great difference between the American Army and the Filipino army a guerrilla warfare would be best adapted to the peculiar conditions of the struggle; but in order to give the world a practical demonstration of their capacity for organization and self-government it was thought necessary that at first the war should be conducted in a regular manner, with a concentrated field army. After this plan had been carried out, about November 12, 1898, the form of guerrilla warfare was adopted. Describing this guerrilla warfare, Gen. MacArthur textually says:

The success of this unique system of warfare depended upon almost complete unity of action of the entire native population. That such unity is a fact is too obvious to admit of discussion. Intimidation has undoubtedly accomplished much to this end, but fear, as the only motive, is hardly sufficient to account for the unity and apparently spontaneous action of several millions of people. One traitor in each town would effectually destroy such a complex organization. It is more probable that the adhesive principle comes from ethnological homogeneity, which induces men to respond for a time to the appeals of consanguine leadership.

The same officer made the following statement before the Senate committee:

When I first started in against these rebels I believed that Aguinaldo's troops represented only one faction. I did not believe that the whole population was opposed to us; but I have been reluctantly compelled to believe that the Filipinos are loyal to Aguinaldo and the government which he represents.

The testimony of the two men most competent to judge how the Filipinos fought against Spain and later against the United States shows conclusively that they were united in both those struggles. Was it possible, if there did not exist a common sense of nationality, a common national ambition, that these people, said to be so heterogeneous, would unite to make the greatest sacrifices that any people can make—those of their lives and of their property?

While the people of the Philippines have shown in time of war that they are one, they have given a like proof in time of peace. There are at present two political parties in the Philippine Islands. They are not based upon sectional policies. Both of these parties extend throughout the archipelago and hold local as well as national conventions. Both these parties advocate Philippine independence, the difference being only with reference to the method of obtaining it. There is a Philippine Board of Commerce, wherein the commercial interests of every part of the country are represented. There is a Philippine farmers' organization, which holds occasional national conventions, attended by representative farmers from all parts of the archipelago. The lower house of the Philippine Legislature, namely, the Philippine Assembly, is composed of Filipinos from every civilized Province of the Archipelago. There are represented the so-called Ilocanos, Cagayanos, Pampangos, Tagalogs, and Visayans, by districts and according to population, and they select their speaker and other officers of the house, regardless of the region from which they come. The Hon. Sergip Osmeña, speaker of the assembly, is a Visayan, and he being a nationalist received the unanimous support of the members of the nationalist party in the house, regardless of whether the member was a Tagal, Ilocano, or Cagayan. Members who were Visayans, coming from the speaker's region, but belonging to the progresista party, voted for the Hon. Vicente Singson, an Ilocano, who is the leader of the minority. The Resident Commissioners in the United States are elected by the Philippine Legislature, and he who has the honor to address you, being himself a Tagal, received not only every vote of the Tagal assemblymen but also of every Visayan, Ilocano, and Cagayan—in fact, of every member of the two political parties of the assembly, because I advocated Philippine independence and both parties are united in favor of my contention.

Speaking of the Philippine Assembly, Mr. James Alexander Robertson, librarian of the Philippine Library, who is by no means a partisan of immediate independence for the Philippines, says:

Conversations with various of the delegates show them to be on the whole men of relative superior intelligence, alert, and *anxious for the best good of the Philippines*. This last is a very significant fact. The delegates, although elected to represent a certain locality, are keenly alive to the fact that they represent all the Philippines and must obtain *the best good for the whole country*.

DR. JOSÉ RIZAL, NATIONAL HERO.

The recognition of a national hero in any country is evidence of the national consciousness of the people thereof. The Filipinos have their national hero—Dr. José Rizal, who was shot to death by order of the Spanish Government on the 30th of December, 1896. The crime of Dr. Rizal was the crime of George Washington—he loved his people and sought their freedom. He paid for his patriotism with his life, and he died gladly. On the eve of his martyrdom he wrote one of the noblest poems that ever came from a patriot pen. In every town in the Philippine Archipelago the 30th of December is consecrated to the memory of Dr. Rizal; he is venerated by every Filipino, and his picture hangs prominently in every home, from the costliest to the humblest. Each and every man in every one of the so-called tribes of the Philippines regards Dr. Rizal as Americans regard George Washington.

LACK OF UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE NOT AN OBSTACLE TO INDEPENDENCE.

The gentlemen from Pennsylvania and New York, and, like them, every enemy of Philippine independence, assert that since there are many different dialects spoken in the archipelago, and there is no language known to and spoken by every Filipino, hence the Filipinos, not understanding one another, can have no national feeling or thought.

Nobody cares to deny that there are different native dialects spoken in the Philippines and that there is no one language which is understood and used by every Filipino—man, woman, and child. But the facts which I have already stated show conclusively that the lack of a universal language in the Philippines has not prevented the Filipinos from being a homogeneous and united people. Indeed, the opponents of Philippine independence, in their efforts to postpone the recognition of that innate right of ours to become the sole masters of our destiny, demand that there should exist in the Philippines conditions that do not exist anywhere else in the world. In the United States itself how many thousands of people are there constituting a part of this body politic who have no understanding of English? There are many well-governed democracies as well as kingdoms in Europe where the people speak different languages. The model of all republics and democracies, that small country of Switzerland, has three official languages—Italian, French, and German—because the people inhabiting the cantons bordering Italy speak Italian, those bordering Germany speak German, and those bordering France speak French. In the Austrian Empire also different languages are spoken. In England the polished style of the English gentleman is scarcely understood, and is not spoken by the masses of the people, nor is the Cockney English understood by the elegant Englishman. And a like condition prevails in many other independent countries of Europe and Asia.

INTERCOMMUNICATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The fact is that it is not a prerequisite of freedom or nationalism that a people shall speak the same language. It is enough that there be some language—maybe one or several—imposed and accepted as the official language, and by means of which political, governmental, commercial, and industrial intercommunication could be had between the different parts of the country.

Spanish has long been the official language in the islands, and through it not only administrative but also business affairs have been successfully conducted throughout the archipelago. The manner by which knowledge of public questions and policies is conveyed to every inhabitant, regardless of his knowledge of the Spanish language, is simple. Besides Spanish newspapers there are also native journals, not only in Manila but also in the Provinces. These native papers inform the reader, who does not speak Spanish, of every current topic in his own native dialect. Thus the lack of a common language does not serve as an obstacle for the diffusion of knowledge of public matters. Another way by which every question of public interest is discussed by the masses of the people is that of popular meetings, which take place in every town and village of the archipelago, just as is the case in the United States. In those meetings the speakers use the vernacular of the locality, and the people are thus informed of subjects of general concern.

AMERICAN ADMINISTRATORS, NOT KNOWING SPANISH, GOVERNED THE ISLANDS THROUGH THAT LANGUAGE AS OFFICIAL.

Certainly the lack of a universal language has never been in the Philippines an obstacle to the carrying on of government nor for the pursuit of any business enterprise. Spain has been governing the islands for three centuries through this language, and the United States has done the same for 13 years despite the remarkable circumstance that the governing class did not speak the official language which they had to use in governing the people. Since it has been possible for American administrators to govern the Philippines, using Spanish as the official language, although that language was not universally spoken by the Filipinos and was altogether unknown by most of those administrators, it would certainly be easier for the Filipinos to govern the Philippines using Spanish as an official language. But the conditions during the next eight years will improve still more in the use and knowledge of this official language in the Philippines. By the date contemplated in the Jones bill for the granting of Philippine independence the official language of the islands will have come to be English, and it will then be spoken by the majority of Filipinos.

More than 700,000 children have already been given the knowledge of English through the public schools. These are now, or are about to be, of voting age. Within eight years another million or more will have passed out of the schools. The enrollment for the last 10 years in public schools has never been less than 500,000, but besides these schools there have been private as well as parochial schools, colleges, and universities, where hundreds of thousands of children are given education and also taught English. The enrollment for 1911 in the public schools was over 600,000. Of 8,360 teachers in the public schools, 7,696 are Filipinos. ✓

Coupled with the knowledge of English, literacy in the Philippines has grown immensely since the taking of the census. Ten years ago those who could neither read nor write were 2,762,093 of the total population of 4,973,526 of 10 years of age and over, or 55.5 per cent. To-day the illiteracy can not be more than 40 per cent, and within eight years, without any question, it will be less than 30.

My prediction is by no means due to a groundless optimism, but to the fact that the Filipinos are doing everything to educate themselves. This is a statement which the most extreme imperialist dares not deny. Not only the children, but their parents also, are learning. Col. J. G. Harbord, of the Philippine Constabulary, who has been in the islands for many years and who is still there, has said:

No sojourner in the Philippines can fail to notice the intense desire of all classes of the people for education. It is the wish of which he will be most constantly reminded. Servants, coachmen, laborers, hundreds of them carry little phrase books of short language methods and are earnestly striving to learn English. * * * Public money for education is one appropriation never criticized by the vernacular press of Manila. Night and day schools are well attended, and in some of the former local officials, overcoming their fear of ridicule and swallowing their pride, have sat beside their own children as pupils learning English. Certainly the desire for education is one of the moving motives of Filipino life to-day. Parents make the most complete sacrifices to send their children to school, and the pupils themselves endure hunger and privations to secure learning.

NUMBER OF FILIPINO VOTERS.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania alleged that there are very few qualified electors in the Philippines, and in support of his contention he said that of 8,000,000 people but 98,257 voted at the election of the first Philippine Assembly, which took place in 1907; that at the election of 1908 but 192,975 voted; and at the election of 1912, 248,154 registered and 235,786 voted. From these figures the gentleman concluded that only a very small percentage of the total population of the islands has the lawful qualification to take part in public affairs and that therefore the inhabitants are not able to establish and maintain a republican form of government as that is understood by the people of the United States.

Comparing the figures given by the gentleman from Pennsylvania of the registered votes at the last election, 248,154, with the total voting population, 1,500,000, the electors in the Philippines are 15 per cent of the voting population. The gentleman says that this is too small a percentage for the people thus qualified to be able to establish a republican form of government, as this kind of government is understood by the people of the United States, and therefore the Filipinos should not be given independence.

A WRONG THEORY.

The proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania seems to be, and, in fact, he said so in the course of his remarks, that the Filipino people should not be granted independence until they are capable of establishing a republican form of government as the idea is conceived and understood by the people of the United States. If the gentleman is right, we may as well renounce once and for all the hope of ever becoming an independent nation.* First, because it will be an insoluble problem for the Filipino people to find out at this juncture just what the American people's idea is of a republican government. We have heard in the last national campaign from the leaders of the different political parties in this country so many different expressions of what they consider to be true democracy and popular government that we are almost lost in the conflict of these opposite theories. Second, because if there was unanimity among the Americans as to how they shall be governed it will require the Filipinos to adopt it, that they shall be an alter ego of the American people. Of course it is out of the question to expect that such a condition will ever come.

The gentleman's theory is wrong, and he must know that it is untenable. More than this, if carried to its ultimate consequences it is anarchical. The theory, in effect, means, when expressed in general terms, that the United States has a right to subjugate every country incapable of establishing a republican form of government according to American ideas. How long has this been a political tenet in this country? I have always thought that the United States has proclaimed to the world the fundamental principle that every people has the right to establish such government as they choose. Let us carry into effect the theory of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and the United States should have to deprive England, Germany, Russia, Italy, and every kingdom of Europe of their independence; it should not have recognized the independence of Cuba, and never should have retired from Mexico.

AMERICAN OLIGARCHY.

There is another point which shows the inconsistency of the position of those who would keep the Philippines under the United States, because only 15 per cent of them have the right to share in the conduct of the government. The proposition is that it is not Americanism to permit that so small percentage of the population shall have in their hands the sole guidance of the ship of state. If it is not Americanism to permit 15 per cent of the Filipinos to govern their countrymen what is it to permit five Americans to govern the whole population? For this is in fact the government of the Philippines to-day, an oligarchical government, monopolized by the American commissioners appointed by the President of the United States acting without even consulting the will of any Filipino.

But in considering the number of voters in the Philippines at present it should be borne in mind that the electoral laws in the islands, enacted by the Commission, require certain qualifications that should not be required anywhere and would not be required by the Filipino people if they had their own government. Fifteen per cent only can vote in the Philippines, because many good and well-qualified citizens have been deprived of this right by laws enacted by American officials. The Filipinos who should be permitted to vote, and will be permitted to vote by an independent Philippine Government, because they are intelligent, law-abiding men, constitute a majority of the voting population.

QUALIFICATIONS TO VOTE.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania cited in the following language the qualifications required by law to be an elector in the Philippines: "Anybody may vote who was an officeholder under the Spanish régime, or who is able to speak or write either English or Spanish, or who possesses property to the value of \$250 gold, or who pays taxes to the amount of \$15 per annum." The gentleman considers these requirements very "simple." I beg to take issue with the gentleman from Pennsylvania in his proposition that these requirements are "simple," if by this he means that in civilized countries the majority of the people, at least, should have these qualifications. Were they to be applied in the United States there would be an enormous reduction in the electorate.

ENGLISH OR SPANISH QUALIFICATION TO VOTE.

I have asked the gentleman from Pennsylvania how many voters there would be in this country if the people of the United States were required to read and write German or any other foreign language. And I ask the same question again. Neither Spanish nor English are native languages in the Philippines. There are millions of Filipinos who read and write their native dialects, but who do not read or write either Spanish or English, and they are unwisely, nay, unjustly, deprived of the franchise.

To demand the capacity to read and write English or Spanish as a prerequisite to the use of the ballot is wholly unreasonable. A Filipino may be a very intelligent man, wholly able to vote on public questions affecting his town, his Province, or the entire archipelago, without knowing one word of either Spanish or English, if he reads and writes his own native dialect, for the native dialects of the Philippines have their own literature. Public questions are discussed in native writings and there

are many important texts translated into these native languages as well as others written originally in native tongues by native Filipinos. A Filipino, Baltazar, wrote a poem in Tagalo which can be compared with any of Shakespeare's dramas, yet he never had any acquaintance with a foreign language. If the people of the Philippines who know how to read and write their own native dialects were to be allowed to vote, the number of voters would be increased manifold.

PROPERTY QUALIFICATION.

A property to the value of \$250 gold is a great deal of property in the Philippine Islands. Two and a half acres of land devoted to any kind of crop can easily support a large family in the Philippines. The average price of land per acre is not more than \$50, and in some localities it does not reach \$15 per acre. How greatly would the number of voters in the United States be reduced if in order to vote they had to own \$250 worth of property! It must, moreover, be borne in mind that \$250 of property in the Philippines is equivalent, at least, to \$1,000 in the United States. The gentleman from Pennsylvania seems to think that there are but few Filipinos of that class which constitute the backbone of every country—farmers. He is very much mistaken.

NUMBER OF FARMS.

The Philippine census gives as the total number of farms in the island 815,453, the average size of a farm being $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Think of it! In a country of 8,000,000 people there are 815,453 farms, which means that an equal number of families own land and are engaged in farming.

American statesmen claim, and with justice, that the strength and solidity of this Government rests upon the American farmer. What, then, shall we say of the Philippines, where there are, comparatively speaking, many more farmers than in the United States? And yet the majority of their farmers, who support that Government with their taxes, are denied the right to vote simply because their farms are not worth \$250, although there may be enough means at hand to support them and educate their children.

FIFTEEN DOLLARS REQUIREMENT.

Fifteen dollars direct taxes per annum! That is certainly a large sum for the average citizen to pay in any country. I ask again how many people in the United States would be deprived of the right to vote if they had to pay annually \$15 in direct taxes?

There is another provision in the electoral law which the gentleman from Pennsylvania failed to cite, and which is of some consequence in enlarging or diminishing the number of voters in the islands or anywhere else. This is the provision that although a man might speak and write English or Spanish, own property valued at more than \$250, and also pay \$15 taxes per annum, if he happens to owe any amount, no matter how little, to the treasury for his taxes, he is deprived of the right to vote until he has paid every cent of it.

SOME FILIPINO ELECTORS DO NOT VOTE.

Thus that my first answer to the figures given by the gentleman from Pennsylvania as to the small number of voters in the Philippine Islands is that the requirements of the law in 83683—11867

the Philippines, though they may be "simple," as the gentleman says, are far too rigorous. Were these same requirements imposed by law in any other country, there would be fewer voters, proportionately, than there are in the Philippines. Further, the actual number of people who have been going to the polls so far does not really constitute the only voting population of the islands. There are still many who do not vote for causes other than a lack of the qualifications required by the present laws. The figures given by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, even at first sight, illustrate my contention. Nothing has taken place between the years 1907 and 1912 which would indicate a great change in the condition of the people in the Philippines; yet, while in 1907 only 98,257 people voted, in 1912 248,154 registered and 235,786 actually voted—almost 300 per cent increase in less than four years.

Some of the reasons why Philippine voters do not care to exercise their right to vote may be traced to, and found, in the nature of the government we now have. Everybody in the islands realizes that while the people are given the right to select their officers for municipal and provincial governments and the lower house of the legislature, the powers granted to those officers are not only limited in character, but are also subject to the supreme will of the Governor General or of the Philippine Commission, and that the policies of native officials can be carried out only so long as they meet with the pleasure of the American administrators in the islands. Thus many think that it is not worth their while to spend their time in going to the polls to select officers who can not, after all, be real representatives of the people, except to the extent that they are permitted to be so by their masters, the American officials.

There are, in fact, many who do not vote for this reason. I could give the names of some whom I personally know. The increase in the number of voters at the last election was due to the fact that the people of the Philippines are more hopeful of success in their struggle for independence.

And finally, by virtue of acts of Congress, over 500,000 people are deprived of the right to vote in the Philippines, and therefore this number ought to be deducted from the total population of the islands when comparison is drawn between the voters and the population. Those who are thus deprived of the right to vote are the non-Christian Filipinos.

MONOPOLY OF BUSINESS BY FOREIGNERS.

In the effort of the gentleman from Pennsylvania to convict the Filipinos of being an incapable people he made the following remarks:

The incapacity of the Filipinos for prominent participation even in important private affairs is apparent from the fact that nearly all the commercial houses there are in the hands of Spaniards, Englishmen, Germans, or Americans, and much of the smaller business is in the hands of the Chinese. If they are incapable of managing important private affairs it is not difficult to reason that they are not qualified to participate desirably in the important affairs of government.

It is not true that the Filipinos are not managing important business enterprises in the Philippines. There are important industries, commercial enterprises, and banking houses with large capital entirely owned and managed by Filipinos. These are a few instances: The "Germinal," one of the largest tobacco factories in the islands; the "Hogar Filipino," a company doing

banking operations; the "Compañía Marítima," the largest insular steamship company; and the "Cervezeria de S. Miguel," the largest brewery in the islands, are all organized on a basis of Filipino capital and managed by Filipinos, although the majority of the customers of the brewery are foreigners. There are many other important houses in the islands engaged in different kinds of business which are controlled by native capital and subject to native management.

But it is true that the Filipinos do not control the business of the archipelago as they should and as they are entitled to. This is not because of their lack of capability to manage business affairs, but because, having always been under foreign rule, they have never had a fair chance. That, indeed, is one of the reasons why the Filipinos wish to govern their own country; because, as is the case in every colony, the citizens of the governing nation first and after them other foreigners are given by the Government every aid and opportunity for developing and exploiting the territory. Of course, the laws of the Philippines do not discriminate as between a Filipino and an American or any other foreigner in the islands; but the executive officials, whenever they can, without disregarding the letter of the law, help the American business man do so, and whenever they can refuse their help to a Filipino business man they also do so.

In the early days of American occupation of the islands many of the Filipino business men were rather inclined to support American sovereignty; but their experiences in their business undertakings have convinced them that sooner or later, if foreign rule should continue to control the affairs of their country, their business will go into foreign hands.

The Filipinos do not wish to deprive foreign capital of opportunities for investment in the Philippines. On the contrary, they invite foreign capitalists to come to the islands and help to develop the natural resources. But they rightly claim that there should be an equal opportunity for all; that the law should be administered so as to give no preferences to natives or foreigners. If we ever obtain our independence, we pledge ourselves to the faithful carrying out of the policy of equal opportunities for all, without discrimination between races or countries.

THE DE FACTO PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania referred to the short-lived Philippine independent republic; and, quoting the opinion of one or two Army officers, who naturally were not very sympathetic with a government which they fought, said in conclusion that—

It does not seem to have been very much of a republic.

The fact is that there can not be found another instance in the history of the world where the people, subdued by a foreign nation and starting a revolt against that nation with but very few arms and little ammunition, succeeded in a few months in throwing off the yoke of their foreign master, and from the ashes of that revolution, and facing an imminent war with another nation, built up a government with a liberal and democratic constitution which did not only keep order and enforce law but proceeded at once to establish schools and make public improvements. This is exactly what took place in the Philippines.

Admiral Dewey, having witnessed the working of that Philippine independent government, cabled to the Navy Department

on June 23, 1899, that the Filipinos were more capable of self-government than the Cubans are, and later on, in another message, reiterated this same opinion. He said:

In a telegram sent to the department on June 23, I expressed the opinion that "this people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races." Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.

Admiral Dewey sent two naval men, Leonard Sargent and W. B. Wilcox, throughout the archipelago to investigate the conditions as they stood in the Philippines at that time, and the report of these men was referred by the admiral to the Navy Department with the following indorsement:

Approved and respectfully forwarded for the information of the Navy Department. Especial attention is invited to this interesting and carefully prepared report, which, in my opinion, contains the most complete information obtainable in regard to the present state of northern part of Luzon Island.

Among other things, Mr. Sargent says in that report:

"It has been my privilege to have been intimately associated with the Filipino people for a short time at a most interesting period of their history. With the permission of Admiral Dewey I spent the greater part of the months of October and November of 1898, in company with Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, United States Navy, in the interior of the northern part of the island of Luzon. It will be remembered that at the date the United States had not yet announced its policy in regard to the Philippines. The terms of the treaty with Spain were being negotiated by our commissioners at Paris, and the fate of the islands hung in the balance. In the meantime, the native population, taking matters into their own hands, had declared their independence from all foreign jurisdiction, and had set up a provisional government, with Aguinaldo at its head. * * * Although this government has never been recognized, and in all probability will go out of existence without recognition, yet it can not be denied that in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants for nearly six months it stood alone between anarchy and order. The military forces of the United States held control only in Manila, with its environs, and in Cavite, and had no authority to proceed further; while in the vast remaining districts the representatives of the only other recognized power on the field were prisoners in the hands of their despised subjects. It was the opinion at Manila during this anomalous period in our Philippine relations, and possibly in the United States as well, that the state of affairs must breed something akin to anarchy. * * * I can state unreservedly, however, that Mr. Wilcox and I found the existing conditions to be much at variance with this opinion. During our absence from Manila we traveled more than 600 miles in a very comprehensive circuit through the northern part of the island of Luzon, traversing a characteristic and important district. In this way we visited seven provinces, of which some were under immediate control of the central government at Malolos, while others were remotely situated, separated from each other and from the seat of government by natural divisions of land, and accessible only by lengthy and arduous travel. As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security, and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under the new régime."

THE NONCIVILIZED FILIPINOS.

Let me say a word about these non-Christian inhabitants of the archipelago. The gentleman from New York [Mr. REFIELD] in his delightful way refers to the Igorrotes, the inhabitants of the hills of the northern part of Luzon, and described their manners and customs to the House. He says: "They were guiltless of all clothing." And he adds, "There is a village there; and I will tell you in a moment about the village, because what I shall tell you will show how fit for self-government some portions of these people are whose claims for independence are pressed upon us."

I find it difficult to conceive how the gentleman from New York can take the position that because there are 100,000 Igorrotes in the Philippine Islands, even if they may be "guiltless of all clothing," seven millions and a half of clothed Filipinos should be deprived of their right to self-government. What would the gentleman from New York think were he told that there are many thousands of Indians in the United States who have no notion of freedom and self-government and that therefore the American people should be deprived of their power of self-government?

COMPARISON BETWEEN UNCIVILIZED PEOPLE IN THE PHILIPPINES TO-DAY
AND IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1776.

The existence of a half million uncivilized people in the archipelago, including the Igorrotes, other hill tribes, and Moros, has been time and again alluded to by the opponents of Philippine independence as a reason why the islands should not be free from the control of the United States. How soon these men forget the history of their own country! When the United States acquired its independence from England the proportion of uncivilized inhabitants and of others who, although not altogether uncivilized, were denied the right to share in the government of the Colonies was vastly larger than it is in the Philippines to-day. The inhabitants of the 13 Colonies in 1776 numbered not more than 3,000,000 whites, and while the figures given as to the Indians vary, no one believes there were less than 400,000 at that time. If we also include the negro population then enslaved, what is the proportion between the civilized Americans who fought for their independence and the uncivilized Indians and negro slaves?

In the Philippines, on the other hand, the civilized Filipinos number over 7,400,000, and the uncivilized, according to the census, number only 500,000. Would any American care to affirm that the Colonies ought not to have been given independence because there were many uncivilized people in this country? If Americans have shown that they were entitled to their independence, regardless of the presence of Indians and of the negro slave, and if, after they acquired their independence, they have claimed and exercised the right to govern their wards, upon what logic can the Filipinos be deprived of their independence because of the existence of the Igorrotes and Moros, who must, no doubt, be governed as wards by the civilized Filipinos?

But we are told, and it is urged by both the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the gentleman from New York, that some of these non-Christian inhabitants of the islands will not submit to a Philippine government. They refer to alleged statements made by some Moro chief before ex-Secretary of War Dickinson to the effect that the Moros prefer American control. The alleged preference of the Moros for American rule has been shown to be without basis. After these statements had been made before ex-Secretary of War Dickinson many American officers and soldiers were killed by the Moros despite their love for American rule. I deny that the non-Christian Filipinos refuse to submit to a Philippine government, and I deny it the more positively because during the short-lived Philippine Government all of them recognized the authority of that Government. But suppose that these non-Christian Filipinos should, with arms, oppose the authority of a Philippine independent government, is that any reason why we should not be given our

independence? How many years have the Indians resisted the authority of their white brethren, and how many men were killed during the struggle? Following the precedent of the United States, we therefore assert that the civilized Filipinos, constituting to-day a larger majority over their uncivilized compatriots than did the Americans over the Indians and the negroes when the United States freed itself from England, have a perfect right to ask that an independent government be granted them irrespective of the presence of these elements in the population, and that they be intrusted with the power to govern the noncivilized people in the Philippines.

THE FILIPINOS CAN GOVERN THE UNCIVILIZED POPULATION.

But are the Filipinos strong enough to govern the uncivilized population of the islands? We say we are. Our assertion is fully justified by the superiority in numbers as well as in civilization of the Christian Filipinos. Moreover, we affirm that the noncivilized Filipinos will more readily accept the authority of a Philippine independent government than that of their present rulers. I have told you that these uncivilized people have already, during the eight months of the Philippine de facto independent government, recognized the authority of that government. There is, moreover, the tie of blood between the civilized and the uncivilized Filipino which does not exist between either of them, on the one hand, and the Americans on the other, and which will make the control of the former easier than that of the latter.

THE FILIPINOS UNANIMOUS IN FAVOR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. REDFIELD] read as an introduction to his remarks a letter which he says was written by a prominent local official of Ormoc, island of Leyte, in which it is asserted that the abandonment of the Philippines by the United States will be disastrous to the Filipinos. The name of the writer is not given, nor is it stated whether he is a Filipino or an American; but if he be a Filipino I do not understand how the opinion of one man, against that of the rest of his compatriots, can have any weight whatever. The Filipinos are united in their belief that they are capable of self-government. They are also united in their constant representation to the American people that they should be given independence. The Philippine Assembly, a body which stands for the whole population of the archipelago, has at every session since it was organized passed unanimous resolutions urging Congress to grant the islands independence, on the ground that the people are capable of administering their own affairs and eager to do so. In every municipality of the archipelago, at public meetings, the Philippine independence bill now pending before the House has been indorsed. In the city of Manila a mass meeting was held on May 30, 1912, wherein a committee of men representing all walks of life was appointed to draw such a resolution, which later was unanimously approved by the meeting, and whose wording in part is as follows:

Resolved, That all those present in this meeting express, and do hereby express, their acceptance of all parts of the Jones bill providing for the establishment of a qualified independent government for the Philippines and that the Congress of the United States be respectfully requested to pass the bill as the formula that embraces the highest ideals of the Filipino people and safeguards all interests.

The members of the committee which framed this resolution were:

Mr. Teodoro R. Yangco, representing the bankers and merchants; Mr. Cecilio Lopez, representing the manufacturers; Mr. Mauro Prieto, representing the property owners and capitalists; Dr. Isidoro Santos, representing the professional classes; Hon. Maximo Mina, representing the Nationalist Party; Dr. Santiago Barcelona, representing the Popular Nationalist League; Dr. Alejandro Albert, representing the Progressist Party; Mr. Martin Ocampo, representing the native press; Mr. Hermenegildo Cruz, representing the labor unions; Mr. Francisco Arellano, representing the Philippine youth.

NATIVE CLERGY WANT INDEPENDENCE.

The native priests of the islands, upon the occasion of the election of Gov. Wilson as President of the United States, sent me the following communication:

POLO, BULACAN, P. I., November 12, 1912.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned, Filipino Roman Catholic priests, in a fraternal meeting at Polo, Bulacan, send you our most cordial greetings. We respectfully request that you extend to the Hon. Woodrow Wilson our hearty congratulations on his election as President of the United States and our fervent hopes that his administration may bring to the islands a government for and by the Filipinos.

Very respectfully,

M. Sevilla, parish priest of Hagonoy; Juan de la Rosa, Rizal, P. I.; Arcadio Resurrección, parish priest of Meycauayan, Rizal; Francisco Alto, parish priest of Guiguinto; Bonifacio de la Cruz, parish priest of Riga; Juan Somera, parish priest of Faombong; Vicente Pingol, parish priest of Pulilan; Osmundo Lim, parish priest of Barasoain; Juan Dilag, parish priest of Obando; Esteban Daez, parish priest of Polo; Alejandro Carlos, parish priest of Marilao; Ladislao Santos, parish priest of Cuenca; Cipriano Aguirre, parish priest of Bocaue; Francisco Carreon, parish priest of Tonsuya; Tomás Changko, parish priest of Norzagaray; Aquilino Borlongan, parish priest of Calumpit; Mateo Evangelista, parish priest of Bulacan; Benito Cebrero, parish priest of Balluag; Victorino Lopez, parish priest of Quinua; Cirilo Abela, parish priest of Santa Maria; Magdaleno Castillo, parish priest of Malolos; Angel Cortazar, parish priest of San Jose; Excequiel Morelos, parish priest of Bustos; Silvino Manalo, parish priest of Pandacan.

The views of the Filipino clergy are further explained by Rev. Silvino Manalo in the following words:

The reasons why the Filipino clergy favors the freedom of the Philippines are easily explained. Our history shows that we have been always in favor of a Filipino independent nationality. We believe that the interests of Christianity in the islands, which are the interests of all the civilized world and which are our main concerns, can be better protected under a Filipino independent government. We have, therefore, no greater desire than the liberty of our country—liberty which means the free and just management of our national and international affairs through the will and sovereignty of the people. Such a liberty is but the sequel of "independence," which is enjoyed by most peoples of the world.

We extend our sincere and enthusiastic congratulations to the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, because we believe that, being a man of sound democratic doctrines and a world-known lover of justice, he would do all he can to convert into law the Jones bill and thus insure to us the right which is justly and inalienably ours.

That there may be one or two Filipinos for American rule is not impossible; but should the voice of one man or of a dozen men in favor of American domination be heeded? Have gentle-

men forgotten that when the thirteen Colonies were struggling for freedom from Great Britain, sacrificing for the independence of their country everything they cared most for in this world, there were a few Americans who took sides with the English? Have gentlemen forgotten that there were those who in the history of that war of revolution were known to be Tories?

ASSEMBLY BILL NO. 395.

One part of the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. OLMSTED] has given me a great deal of concern and sorrow. The gentleman alluded to a certain bill passed by the Philippine Assembly in a manner which must be construed as reflecting upon the character of the members of the assembly and the Filipinos in general. But the gentleman from Pennsylvania is too gentle and honorable a man to have willfully done so. I wish to use his own words that I may not misrepresent him in any way. He said:

As an instance of one of these bills, here is assembly bill No. 395, which passed the lower house December 27, 1910, but was laid on the table in the upper branch January 31, 1911, after the presentation of a report of the proper committee showing the object and effect of the bill. I will print that report, together with a translation of the legal terms used. The effect of the bill, as explained by the committee, would have been to allow many persons guilty of rape and certain other specified offenses to go unpunished. Such crimes were to be considered and dealt with as offenses against the victim, who might or might not institute proceedings, but not as public offenses or offenses against society.

Is the gentleman from Virginia willing—would any gentleman be willing—to have that most horrible of offenses no longer subject to public prosecution? Should Filipino women be placed in that position? Was the passage of such an act through the lower branch a very high tribute to their capacity for self-government?

The accusation thus made against the Philippine Assembly, and in fact against the whole Filipino people, is so unjustified and undeserved that I tried then to interrupt the gentleman from Pennsylvania to explain to him the circumstances upon which this bill is founded, but, owing to lack of time, he was not able to yield the floor.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania was asked by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MURRAY] the circumstances relating to the bill, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania answered that he did not know them. He said that he knew that "the bill was passed by the lower branch, and that is enough." It is not enough. The gentleman from Pennsylvania before making a statement that, at least, by innuendo indicted the Philippine Assembly of being unmindful of the honor of Filipino women, should have devoted more time to the study of the measure which he criticizes. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, before accusing the representatives of the Filipino people of permitting rape, one of the most horrifying crimes, to go unpunished, should have made himself thoroughly acquainted with the subject.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania is known and considered to be one of the great lawyers not only of Congress but of the United States as well. I wonder, therefore, how this gentleman could have been ignorant of the fact that the law which he criticizes was not intended to allow any man guilty of rape to go unpunished, nor was it an original invention of the Philippine Assembly. This bill merely purported to repeal section 463 and to reenact sections 448 and 467 of the Penal Code

of the Philippine Islands, which were amended by act 1773 of the Philippine Commission. The penal code of the Philippines is still the criminal law of the land except as it has been specifically amended by the acts of the commission or the legislature. This code is the same as the Spanish penal code, and is almost identical to the French, Austrian, Napolitan, and Brazilian codes. Section 448 of the Philippine penal code corresponds to section 463 of the Spanish penal code and is similar to sections 337 and 338 of the French penal code; section 247, second part, of the Austrian code; sections 326 and 327 of the Napolitan code; and section 250 of the Brazilian code.

Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania mean that the legislative bodies of every one of these countries proposes to allow men guilty of rape to go unpunished? Does he mean to assert that the legislators of those countries propose to leave their women unprotected when assailed?

Surely the gentleman could not have meant to draw such an indictment against the legislators of countries which are amongst the most advanced nations of the world in civilization and in the science of legislation.

The bill which the gentleman from Pennsylvania criticizes, like the dispositions in this respect of the French, Austrian, Spanish, Italian, and Brazilian codes, is framed upon an altogether different theory and purpose from that which the gentleman thinks underlie it. They are based on the theory that the crimes of seduction, abduction, rape, adultery, and so forth, involve the dishonor of the person and of the family offended; or, in other words, to the belief which exists the world over that a woman loses her honor, and with her her people's, if she has had, even unwillingly, illegitimate intercourse with a man. The purpose of the bill is to give, in these cases, to the offended parties ample liberty to choose whether they would rather keep to themselves their disgrace or make it known to the public by the prosecution of the crime. But the gentleman from Pennsylvania is very much mistaken when he asserts that rape by virtue of this bill is not subject to public prosecution.

Paragraph 3 of section 1 of the assembly's bill says:

In order to proceed in case of rape and in those of abduction committed with unchaste design the denunciation of the interested party, of her parents, grandparents, or guardians shall suffice, even though they do not present a formal petition to the judge.

The construction of this paragraph, familiar even to law students in the countries where similar provision exists, is that the Government shall institute criminal proceedings as soon as it is advised of the facts, even orally, by any of the parties mentioned.

While the bill passed by the Philippine Assembly may not be in accord with the legal views of the gentleman from Pennsylvania or his own personal opinion, it is not by any means an indication of the inability or ignorance of the members of the Philippine Assembly. Much less does it indicate any lack of proper sense of morality in the people of the Philippine Islands.

MORALITY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

It is interesting to cite in connection with this matter the statements of the census in Volume II, page 117:

The number of women who reported themselves prostitutes was 476, nearly all of whom were in Manila. Of these, 75 were white, nearly all

the countries of Europe being represented besides the United States; 260, or more than half, were yellow, practically all of whom were Japanese; and only 141, or 1 in 25,000 of the female population of the islands, were Filipinos. It is rather extraordinary that in this Malay archipelago seven-tenths of all the prostitutes were from foreign lands, a fact which speaks volumes for the chastity of the Filipinos.

This American-made book pays the highest possible tribute to the morality of the people of the Philippines, and is a final answer to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

LEGISLATIVE MISTAKES MADE EVERYWHERE.

But even admitting that the assembly had passed some unwise legislation, is that to be considered a conclusive proof of the incapacity of the Filipinos for self-government? Shall it be held a ground for denying them their God-given right to independence? How many of the legislatures of the different States of the Union, including the National Congress, have made mistakes in their legislative policies? Is there any legislature, whether in Europe, America, or Asia, free from mistakes? If I were to cite instances, I could convict every country on earth of lack of ability for self-government. The legislative record of the assembly is indeed most extraordinary if, after four regular and three extra sessions, its critics have found but two bills to criticize out of hundreds passed, and even when in those instances I have shown that the criticism is unwarranted.

INDEPENDENCE SHOULD BE GRANTED AS A MATTER OF JUSTICE.

I have dwelt at length on every subject touched upon by both the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the gentleman from New York. I have, I think, demonstrated that their arguments against Philippine independence are baseless. There is, in fact, no reason for withholding the exercise of the sacred right of self-government from the Filipinos unless it be the determination to deprive them of that right. We have given in every case, when we have been afforded the opportunity, proof that we know how to manage our own affairs, and that we can do it better than anybody can do it for us.

We do not seek the pity of the American people. We ask no favor from them. We only want them to comply with the divine rule, "Do unto others what you would that others should do unto you." The gentleman from New York, in his generosity, repeated in the beginning of his remarks what he once told me, that he sought for his people no freedom that he does not want for my people. If he means what he says, how can he countenance the continuation in the Philippines of American sovereignty for a single day against the will of the inhabitants when he certainly does not intend to permit his own country to be governed by a foreign nation for one minute? He desires that the Filipinos shall be as free as the Americans. And yet we are not as free as the Americans are. We do not enjoy the same privileges and the same political rights that they do. They have their own flag. We have none. They have their own Government, administered by men of their race and their selection. We have not. And all that we need to be on the same footing with them is that the gentleman from New York and all his colleagues in the House of Representatives and in the Senate vote for a bill granting independence to the Philippine Islands. [Applause.]

